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Wang Ching-wei -- A Model of Capitulationists

by

Ting Hsien-chün (丁贤俊) and

Wen Shao-hua (闻少华)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 4, August 20, 1976)

Wang Ching-wei (汪精卫) was a typical capitulationist in modern China. During the Revolution of 1911, he betrayed the T'ung Meng Hui program and assisted Yüan Shih-k'ai in seizing power. In the First Revolutionary Civil War period, he betrayed the Three Great Policies, opposing communism and revolution; during the War of Resistance against Japan, he betrayed the Chinese nation and surrendered to Japanese imperialism. The life of Wang Ching-wei was one of betraying the revolution, betraying the nation, opposing communism and selling out his country.

I. Betraying the T'ung Meng Hui Program

The Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution covered two historical stages, new and old. The Revolution of 1911 was the old democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie. In 1905, Sun Yat-sen formed the T'ung Meng Hui, clearly setting forth the program of "driving out the barbarians, recovering China, founding a republic and equalizing landownership." This was a relatively integral program for the bourgeois democratic revolution, a program that clearly set forth the use of national revolution to overthrow monarchical autocracy and set up a bourgeois republic. Sun Yat-sen later generalized this program as nationalism, civil rights and people's livelihood. To the freedom-loving Chinese people steeped in revolutionary tradition, the T'ung Meng Hui program and the Three People's Principles were at the time quite uplifting and inspiring. Commenting on the T'ung Meng Hui program, Lenin said: "Every line of Sun Yat-sen's program is filled with militant and sincere democracy. It fully recognizes the inadequacy of 'racial' revolution; it shows not the least apathy to politics; it in no way neglects political freedom or permits the idea of co-existence of Chinese autocracy with China's 'social reform,' constitutional reform, and so forth." ("China's Democracy and National Characteristics") Inspired by this program, the masses of people rose up to overthrow monarchic autocracy that lasted for more than two thousand years and establish the republic. In the course of struggle, the revolutionaries staged many soul-stirring dramas and produced a number of unyielding and death-defying heroes. By contrast, Wang Ching-wei in the Revolution of 1911 period betrayed his own oath, though when he joined the T'ung Meng Hui in Tokyo, he pledged to work for the revolutionary program till death.

The basic form of revolutionary struggle at that time was armed uprising. Between 1906 and 1909, the T'ung Meng Hui initiated many uprisings, which nevertheless ended in failure. Despairing over the future of the revolution, Wang Ching-wei decided to take a last gamble by carrying out

assassinations. He insisted on doing things in his own way despite attempts to dissuade him by Sun Yat-sen and others. In March 1910, Wang went to Peking to assassinate the Prince Regent, Tai Feng. The attempt was foiled and Wang was arrested.

Wang wrote the following verse at the time of his capture: "I sang loftily when I was in the city, and I became a prisoner without losing my composure. Drawing the sword was my pleasure so I would not have lived my youth in vain."* This vehement outpouring and his hideous performance in prison fully revealed this capitulationist's double-faced features. While in jail Wang was accorded special consideration by Shan Chi, Prince Su, Minister of Internal Affairs in the Ch'ing government. Shan had secret talks with Wang on many occasions and presented him with books to read. This tactic of winning people by conquering their minds indeed proved effective, for Wang regretted his assassination attempt and negated himself. In a long poem entitled "The Past" written in prison, he said books were his teacher and he drew immense inspiration and enlightenment from them. He wrote as if he had re-discovered himself: "With alarm, I heard what my teacher said, and all over I sweated. I much admired courage and sacrifice in my life, yet had not learned to cultivate the spirit. If sorrow and joy were excessive, vital energy would be sapped."** This was a subterfuge tactic to please the enemy, showing his repentance over his assassination move and his desire to live at any cost. The condemnation of so-called momentary impulse and love for life, even if it was a disgraceful life, were vivid on paper.

While formerly Wang denounced Prince Su as "bandit Su," he now looked upon him as his savior. Even after he was set free he still referred to this suppressor of the people as a "great statesman in the late period of the Ch'ing dynasty." This was not a change in the customary way of addressing people, but served as proof of Wang Ching-wei's betrayal of the T'ung Meng Hui program. Some revolutionaries at the time spoke of Wang as "having already surrendered to Prince Su, the Minister of Internal Affairs while in prison."***

Wang Ching-wei's betrayal of the T'ung Meng Hui program was even more strikingly exemplified in the "establishment of the republic."

After the Wuch'ang Uprising, Yüan Shih-k'ai became the new agent of reactionary forces in China and elsewhere, a direct opponent of the

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* Chang Chiang-ts'ai, True Record of Mr. Wang Ching-wei's Distress, p. 18.

** Ibid., p. 21.

*** Hu O-kung, "Northern Records of the 1911 Revolution," The 1911 Revolution (6), p. 284.

revolutionaries. After Wang Ching-wei was out of jail in November 1911, he immediately established contact with Yüan. In the middle of the same month, he formed a national affairs mutual relief society (Kung Chi Hui) with Yang Tu, adviser to Yüan Shih-k'ai and a self-styled monarchical constitutionalist. At the same time Wang set up the T'ung Meng Hui's Peking-Tientsin-Paoting branch, carrying the banner of revolutionaries while serving as an accomplice of Yüan Shih-k'ai.

The declaration and charter of Kung Chi Hui bristled with fallacies betraying "founding the republic." Wang Ching-wei not only signed with Yang Tu a newspaper article to deceive people with reactionary trash such as the revolution "causing internal chaos" and "inviting divisions" long discredited by the revolutionaries, but also appealed to the revolutionaries to stop armed struggles and advocated holding a "national conference" in Peking under Yüan's control to discuss "the solution of problems bearing on monarchy and democracy."* At a time when the revolutionary storm was engulfing the whole country and the establishing of a republic represented popular aspirations, Wang went so far as to propose further discussion of the question of whether or not to establish the republic. What did this show? It could only show that he had despicably betrayed the T'ung Meng Hui program. Through Yang Tu publicizing Kung Chi Hui, Yüan Shih-k'ai wanted to use the revolutionaries to press the Ch'ing court to surrender more of its powers, and then use the question of keeping or abolishing the monarchical structure to force the revolutionaries to make concessions. What Wang Ching-wei did was to serve Yüan's interests.

Min-li Pao, organ of the T'ung Meng Hui at the time, editorially took issue with Wang Ching-wei for his treacherous words and deeds. Entitled "Meaningless Kung Chi Hui," the editorial said: "Monarchy as something ominous should in no way be tolerated in China and any discussion of this matter is out of question." It was emphatic that revolutionaries should not "entertain the slightest doubts" about establishing the republic. Apart from pitilessly unmasking Wang and revealing his attempt to return "the Manchu emperor's bounty in not putting him to death," the editorial solemnly stated: "The Kung Chi Hui's proposition does not have the approval of the republican partisans throughout the country."** The publication of the editorial reflected the two-line struggle -- revolution or capitulation -- within T'ung Meng Hui.

In the course of assisting Yüan in seizing power, Wang Ching-wei did not hesitate to hit at and isolate Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary leader, and sell out the revolutionary contingent. Sun Yat-sen returned to China

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* "Declaration of Kung Chi Hui and Its Charter," History of the 1911 Revolution, Vol. XVI, pp. 10-12.

** Min-li Pao, Nov. 22, 1911.

at the end of 1911 and took office as Provisional President in January the following year. Viciously attacking Sun for his opposition to peace talks between the north and the south, Wang said: "Is your disapproval of peace talks related to your reluctance to give up the presidency?" Under the pressure of many quarters, Sun Yat-sen was compelled to yield. When a number of revolutionaries in the north favored opposing Yüan by the use of force, Wang not only "sent out people everywhere to stop" such moves, but madly vilified the insurgent masses as "bandits" and proposed to Yüan that they be suppressed. Consequently, innumerable revolutionaries were slain by Yüan's troops. On the other hand, Wang lauded Yüan as "one who has a popular following and a person of extraordinary ability,"* although previously he denounced Yüan as "a slave of the Ch'ing court." He did his best to create public opinion for Yüan's ascendancy and assist Yüan in seizing power by serving as a hidden traitor.

On becoming Provisional President, Yüan Shih-k'ai lost no time in hitting back at the revolutionary forces. He first killed Chang Chen-wu and Fang Wei, partisans of the first Wuch'ang Uprising and then assassinated Sung Chiao-jen, a leader of the Kuomintang, and he also borrowed large sums of money from the imperialists so he could transfer his troops from the north to the south to foment civil war in a bid to wipe out the revolutionaries at one stroke. Forced to the limit of endurance, Sun Yat-sen urged Huang Hsing and Li Lieh-chün to raise an army against Yüan. Wang Ching-wei was then abroad. On hearing that the revolutionaries were ready to strike, he hurriedly returned to the country. In collusion with Yüan Shih-k'ai's advisers such as Chang Chien and Chao Feng-ch'ang, he drew up a plan for compromise and surrender. The proposal was to install Yüan as President and to drop the Sung case on condition that Yüan would not remove, for the time being, the revolutionaries from key posts of army commanders and governors in Anhwei, Kwangtung and Kiangsi. But Yüan ignored the above conditions and had the governors of three provinces removed in succession. Wang, however, reiterated his desire to pursue peace despite Yüan's abolition of the governorships and continued to lure the revolutionaries to lay down their arms and maintain Yüan's dominance. These facts prove that Wang completely betrayed the T'ung Meng Hui program in both theory and practice during the 1911 Revolution period and became a maggot that undermined the revolution.

The Revolution of 1911 eventually ended in failure, due largely to the vulnerability of the bourgeoisie itself, to its inability and fear to arouse the broad masses of the people and thus losing the basic strength in support of the revolution. However, there is no denying the fact that what the capitulationists had done was also an important reason for hastening the defeat of the revolution.

II. Betraying the Three Great Policies

Following the failure of the 1911 Revolution, Sun Yat-sen suffered repeated setbacks in his continuing efforts to find a way out for the revolution. In his moment of despair, he came across the Russian October Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party. He welcomed the assistance to the Chinese revolution offered by the worker-peasant regime led by Lenin and the cooperation extended to him by the Chinese Communist Party.

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* Kan I, "Secret History of the 1911 Peace Talks," The 1911 Revolution (8), pp. 117-118.

In November 1923, Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang, setting forth the Three Great Policies, namely, "alliance with Russia, cooperation with the Communists and assistance to the peasants and workers." He convened the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in January the following year, redefining the Three People's Principles in the Congress Manifesto, that is, the new Three People's Principles based on the Three Great Policies. He equated nationalism directly with opposition to imperialism, being well aware that only by "closely integrating the masses of the people can China expect to achieve real freedom and independence" and advocating "equality for all the nationalities inside the Chinese territory." On the doctrine of civil rights, the manifesto stressed that "individuals and groups that are truly opposed to imperialism shall be entitled to all liberties and rights,"* rights that would no longer be exclusive to the small number of landlords and capitalists. On the principle of people's livelihood, the manifesto summarized it as "equalization of landownership" and "regulation of capital," with "land to the tiller." The few landlords and capitalists were not to be permitted to control the national economy and the livelihood of the people. The manifesto was clearly characterized by its appeal to the masses of the people to oppose imperialism. While the pronouncement was somewhat unrealistic and illusive about imperialism and vague about seeking the Chinese Communist Party's support and arousing the vast numbers of workers and peasants, yet under the historical conditions at the time, it nevertheless served as a more thoroughgoing militant program for arou-'ng the masses against imperialism and feudalism.

Chairman Mo, highly appraising the Three People's Principles comprising the Three Great Policies, pointed out explicitly: "The Three People's Principles comprising the Three Great Policies -- in other words, the revolutionary, new and genuine Three People's Principles -- are the Three People's Principles of New Democracy, a development of the old Three People's Principles, a great contribution of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's and a product of the era in which the Chinese revolution has become part of the world socialist revolution." ("On New Democracy") This is a penetrating elucidation of the historical significance of the Three Great Policies.

After the 1911 Revolution, Wang Ching-wei devoted himself to social reform in a way that allegedly placed him above politics. He left Sun Yat-sen to take up residence abroad at regular intervals, leading a life of "self-cultivation." "Long I stand under the sail and hear the sound of the oar, my clothes soaked by water swept on board."** When Sun Yat-sen, with the help of the Chinese Communist Party, was planning to draw up

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* "Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang," Selected Works of Sun Yat-sen, Part II, pp. 525-526.

** Lei Ming, Life of Mr. Wang Ching-wei, p. 117.

the Three Great Policies and reorganize the Kuomintang, Wang Ching-wei again turned to revolution and declared he would continue to follow Sun Yat-sen. Chanting revolutionary slogans and uttering progressive rhetoric, he pretended to support Sun Yat-sen and his Three Great Policies while in reality he played the despicable role of a counter-revolutionary double-dealer.

He was full of praise for the reorganization of the Kuomintang "as a fine regenerative dose" and said that after reorganization, it would be "uncompromising in its attitude toward the imperialists and warlords."* He assumed the posture of a "Leftist" ready to give his wholehearted support to the Three Great Policies.

Sun Yat-sen passed away in March 1925. Wang Ching-wei in his capacity as a "Leftist" and chronicler of Sun Yat-sen's will assumed the Standing Committee chairmanship of the Kwangtung National Government and concurrently chairmanship of its Military Affairs Commission. He thus became Sun's successor and an authoritative interpreter of the Three Great Policies, declaring eloquently: "Overthrowing imperialism and the warlords has become the slogan of the national revolutionary movement. And overthrowing imperialism is much more fundamental than overthrowing the warlords."** These words appeared quite vehement in tone.

In August of the same year, Liao Chung-k'ai, leader of the Kuomintang left, was assassinated. This boosted the arrogance of the anti-communist forces. In an attack on anti-communist views, Wang said: "Those of our comrades who want to oppose imperialism turn to the left; those who want to live under unequal treaties and make China forever a semi-colony so the forces of imperialism may be perpetually kept in the world turn to the right. There is no need for pro-communist or anti-communist slogans since those who want to be imperialist lackeys can invoke no protective talisman from anti-communism.+ Subsequently, in the manner of a faithful follower of Sun Yat-sen, he said loudly: "If we, who are on the national revolution front, want to make a distinction between communism and anti-communism and thus disperse the strength of the national revolution, then we definitely are not the followers of our Premier."++

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* Collected Works of Wang Ching-wei, Vol. III, pp. 172-173.

** Wang Ching-wei, "General Discussion of Trends and Changes in Imperialist Aggression against China" (Apr. 1925).

\+ Record of Words and Deeds of Wang Ching-wei, Part I, p. 57.

++ Wang Ching-wei, "How Should We Exert Our Efforts?" (Dec. 1925)

Wang Ching-wei's sweet rhetoric created a false impression of being a "revolutionary" and covered up his true counter-revolutionary features. But this cover-up could not last long and the time would come when his ferocious features of opposing communism and the people would be glaringly revealed.

While Wang Ching-wei was still playing his double-dealing tricks and posing as a leftist, Chiang Kai-shek, another self-style follower of the Three Great Policies and usurper of the post of Commander in Chief of the Northern Expedition, could not wait to unfurl the anti-communist banner. In March 1926 Chiang engineered the "Chungshan battleship incident" to hit at the Communists. At the same time he took advantage of this incident to exclude Wang, an anti-communist plotter, and send him abroad, so that he (Chiang) could seize greater power. Chiang and Wang were birds of a feather, but this farce of excluding Wang not only covered up Wang's true anti-communist features but also enhanced his pseudo-leftist status and boosted his deceptive function. In the wake of the Northern Expedition victories, Chiang began his rapid rise to power. Through his old acquaintances such as Yü Ha-ch'ing and Huang Chin-jung, compradors and scoundrels, he cultivated closer ties with the imperialists, big landlords and big bourgeoisie, and decided on a full-scale campaign against the communists.

In order to disintegrate the Wuhan government with the Kuomintang left and Communists at the core, Chiang recognized that Wang's backing would still be essential. Therefore, in the spring of 1927 Chiang repeatedly cabled Wang, asking him to return to the country as soon as possible. Wang also recognized that this would give him a golden opportunity to gain political capital and restore his power. So, on April 1, he returned to Shanghai in high spirits and immediately joined the anti-communist camp. Chiang and Wang were closeted for several days to plan moves against the communists. Although they were compatible in their counter-revolutionary stand, they differed slightly in their approaches. While Chiang called for "immediate action," Wang proposed holding the Fourth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang to resolve the problem of "driving out the communists." This divergence in effect underscored Chiang's attempt to use military power to capture party power and underlined Wang's bid to use party power to restrain Chiang's hand in directing the troops. In a nutshell, both tried to seize the leadership in moves against the communists.

Harboring ulterior motives, Wang took advantage of his pseudo-leftist status to engage in counter-revolutionary activities. While Chiang and Wang were holding secret talks, the latter on April 5 issued a joint statement with Ch'en Tu-hsiu, chieftain of the Right opportunist line who usurped the post of General Secretary of the Communist Party. The statement said: "Our unity now is more important than at any time in the past." In reality the call for unity was designed to cover up the counter-revolutionary coup planned by Chiang in order to lull the Communists and the revolutionary masses. Wang left Shanghai for Wuhan on April 6 to continue his deceptive games, where he exploited the illusions about him entertained by the Kuomintang Left in the Wuhan government and plotted to seize Party and administrative powers

by virtue of his legal status so as to attain his evil purpose of disintegrating the Wuhan government and splitting the Communists. Consequently, he again resorted to double-dealing tactics. Thus, on the day before Chiang engineered the "April 12" coup, Wang wrote in one inscription: "The Chinese national revolution has entered a crucial period. Let the revolutionaries go to the left and the non-revolutionaries go away."* After the coup, Wang pretentiously sent out circular telegrams and issued statements denouncing Chiang for undermining the Three Great Policies. In an article, "A Shining Telegram," he said: When Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang, "Chiang approved the scheme. Why does he see fit today to destroy the Party and policies left by the Premier."** He "censured" Chiang for ordering "the arrest and slaughter" of Communists, and he even lamented: "Every day we receive word of slaughter in various places and this indeed fills our eyes with tears."+

But this was merely shedding crocodile tears. As a matter of fact, Wang became apprehensive and upset and trembled with fear when, on usurping the power of the Wuhan government, he saw the surging worker and peasant mass movement pound at the foundation of big landlord and big bourgeois rule. He deeply sensed that his attempt at establishing a new rule in the name of a sham left was about to burst like a bubble. Therefore, between May and June he promulgated a series of laws for the suppression of the worker and peasant movement. He made use of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, chieftain of the opportunist line inside the Communist Party, and Liu Shao-ch'i, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab, to disarm the workers pickets, even confiscating the clubs used by the Labor Children's Corps. And after forcibly disbanding the peasant associations, he personally engineered the "July 15" counter-revolutionary coup. With his disguises stripped were revealed his ferocious features. He ranted in public: "The gravest mistake lies in misinterpreting the Premier's policy of accommodating communism." He blamed himself before the Kuomintang for failing to oppose communism earlier, and declared he would "make redemption before making penitence."++ What he meant by "redemption" referred to "uncompromising sanction" against the Communist Party. In resorting to violence for the suppression of the Communist Party and the revolutionary people, he issued the bloody slogan "rather kill a thousand innocent people than let a single guilty person get away." Raving about the need to oppose the theories of the Communist Party, he said: "If only the Communists are ousted while the Communist theory still exists, the objective of driving the Communists out cannot

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* Wang Ching-wei, "Inscription to the 'Supplement of the Central Organ'" (Apr. 11, 1927).

** Wang Ching-wei, "A Shining Telegram" (Apr. 16, 1927)

\+ "Outline of Speeches by Wang Ching-wei in Wuhan" (Apr. 1927).

++ Wang Ching-wei, "Mistakes and Rectification" (Aug. 6, 1927).

be attained."* Thus, Wang's reactionary utterances and deeds proclaimed his complete betrayal of Sun Yat-sen's Three Great Policies. If it is said that Wang was merely a lackey of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes during the period of the 1911 Revolution, he had now become their political representative.

III. Betraying the Chinese Nation

After the collapse of the Great Revolution, the class relations in China underwent new changes. Making use of people like Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei to establish counter-revolutionary dictatorship, the imperialists and China's big landlord and big bourgeois classes carried out wanton encirclement and suppression campaigns against the revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party. The national bourgeoisie then also followed the big bourgeoisie. Counter-revolutionary encirclement and suppression could neither wipe out the Communist Party nor destroy the revolution, but only aggravated the crisis confronting the Chinese nation. As Chairman Mao rightly pointed out: "....at the end of four years of 'Communist suppression' (from 1927 to the Incident of September 18, 1931), 'Manchukuo' was suppressed into existence and in 1937, after another six years of such 'suppression,' the Japanese imperialists made their way into China south of the Great Wall." ("On New Democracy")

When the national crisis became unprecedentedly grave, the Chinese Communist Party proposed forming a national united front for resistance against Japan, the only correct policy for resisting Japan and saving the country. Large-scale intrusion of Japanese imperialism not only aggravated the contradiction between the Chinese nation and Japanese imperialism but also intensified the conflict of interests between Britain and the United States on one side and Japan on the other. Within the KMT, there was a pro-Japanese group headed by Wang Ching-wei and a pro-UK-US group led by Chiang Kai-shek. There were rising anti-Japanese feelings among government functionaries and military officers at the middle and lower levels and among the vast numbers of soldiers. The national bourgeoisie also indicated its acceptance of the views set forth by the Communist Party about putting up a united stand against Japan. Thus the conditions for forming a national united front for resisting Japan were ripe.

The two groups led by Chiang and Wang respectively divided and united irregularly in their struggle for power. From 1928 to 1931, Wang Ching-wei, ousted by Chiang, aligned himself with the warlords in the south and north against Chiang. After the September 18 Incident, Chiang and Wang were reconciled and both called for "internal stability to deal with foreign aggression" by obstinately clinging to a policy of opposing communism and national betrayal. In January 1932, Wang became President of

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* Wang Ching-wei, "After Driving the Communists Out" (Nov. 11, 1927).

the Executive Yuan and concurrently Foreign Minister, and he was energetic in pursuing the line of surrendering to Japan and national betrayal. He proposed the capitulationist policy of "holding negotiations simultaneously with putting up resistance," with non-recognition of the puppet Manchukuo as the "minimum" condition for compromise. Wang said: "We endure what is above the minimum limit, that is, negotiation, but we reject what is below this limit, that is, resistance."* He did not mention one word about resisting Japan. This policy of self-humiliation and pleasing the enemy, to take "endurance" for "negotiation" and "rejection" for resistance, was merely designed to persuade Japan to drop the idea, for the time being, of setting up Manchukuo so as to alleviate the anger of the Chinese people who were carried away by the national mood of resisting Japan. But the greedy master ignored his lackey's proposal; instead, he further created provocative incidents and expanded aggression. Under increasing pressure of Japanese imperialism, the Kuomintang government signed humiliating treaties with Japan, such as the "Woosung-Shanghai Agreement" and the "Tangku Agreement."

Subsequently, the British and American imperialists provided the Kuomintang government with aid in the form of loans and technical cooperation in support of its pro-UK-US faction. In April 1934, a statement issued by the Japanese Foreign Ministry bluntly rejected "any moves made by the Chinese side to defy Japan with the help of foreign influence." Thus, intensification of contradictions among the imperialist powers tended to aggravage the factional rivalries within the Kuomintang government. Wang was the victim of an assassination attempt in November 1935, and went abroad for medical treatment. Thereupon, Chiang took over the Executive Yuan as well and began a vigorous drive to edge out the pro-Wang forces. The Sian Incident broke out in December 1936, and Chiang was detained. Thinking that the golden opportunity for pursuing the line of national betrayal through suppression of communism and surrender to Japan had come, Wang returned to China in haste, ready to replace Chiang. However, when he arrived in Shanghai in January 1937, through the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party, Chiang was released on terms that he would stop suppressing the Communists and unite with them in resisting Japan. Wang's conspiracy thus failed to materialize.

After the Sian incident, the Chinese Communist Party's proposal to form a national united front for resistance against Japan gained wholehearted support from people of all walks of life throughout the country. But Wang remained adamant about suppressing the Communists and opposed a united drive against Japan. While the people appealed for acting in concert against foreign invaders, Wang ranted: "Internal stability should precede resistance to foreign inroads." Although the people called for prompt steps to form a national united front against Japan, Wang viciously countered by warning against being "misled" by the Communist Party and

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* Lei Ming, Life of Mr. Wang Ching-wei, p. 229.

"falling prey to their sinister scheme to sow discord."* Wang's anti-communist trash merely served as a prelude to his surrender to Japan and what he had proposed to do was naturally rejected by the people. Wang was therefore helpless in forestalling the formation of a national united front against Japan.

The War of Resistance against Japan broke out on July 7, 1937. Inspired by the national united front against Japan led by the Chinese Communist Party, the masses of people rose up to join the resistance to shatter the Japanese bandits' fond dreams of subjugating China. Wang, however, remained upset and uneasy all day long, though he was deputy chief of the Kuomintang and Vice Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Defense. Resorting to a double-dealer's tactics, he made this remark in public: "The war of resistance is fought by everybody everywhere." He also came up with the slogan "scorched earth for the war of resistance," ranting: "We want to reduce everybody and every piece of land into ashes to deny the enemy anything."** The so-called "scorched earth" policy was in fact illustrative of his despondency over the resistance effort. And secretly he preached compromise and surrender. He told others in private that the fighting could not be allowed to go on and some other method should be worked out. What was that other method? He called for "turn-round," a synonym for surrender. Wang's view was shared by Chiang Kai-shek. But Chiang was apprehensive of the possible loss of all interests of the pro-UK-US group in the event of surrender, and he feared that the Communist Party alone might lead the anti-Japanese war, in which case they themselves would face "great chaos" and the danger of collapse. Wang, however, maintained that only by surrendering to Japan could they carry on as before, and openly put forward the capitulationist view that "war will lead to big defeat, but peace may not lead to big chaos." It is not difficult to see from here that the political representatives of the two factions of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes were distinguished by their choice of master, apart from possessing the common characteristics of opposing communism and the people and being ready to surrender to imperialism at any time. As a result, within the Kuomintang regime there were capitulationists led by Wang who operated more and more openly, and hidden capitulationists headed by Chiang. As Chairman Mao pointed out: "The right wing of the Anti-Japanese National United Front consists of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, and it is the nerve center of national capitulationism. It is inevitable that these people should tend toward capitulationism, for they fear both the destruction of their property in the war and the rise of the masses." ("The Situation and Tasks in the Anti-Japanese War After the Fall of Shanghai and T'aiyuan")

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* Wang Ching-wei, "Broadcast Speech at Central Radio" (Jan. 22, 1937).

** Wang Ching-wei, "The Last Crucial Moment" (July 1937)

In Wang's view, there was no future in resisting Japan, and except for surrender, there was no way out. The Kuomintang government's policy of partial resistance resulted in the loss of large tracts of Chinese territory, and also became Wang's excuse for surrendering to Japan and selling out the country. Between the fall and winter of 1938, Canton and Changsha fell successively; Wang became despondent. Lamenting the imminent "collapse of the country," he was determined to seize every moment to betray his country and go over to the enemy. Wang once confessed: "I have spoken many times at meetings about my search for peace (that is, surrender to Japan). With the loss of Canton and burning of Changsha, I have become more determined in the realization of my views."* As a matter of fact, the Japanese bandits, after their boast of "subjugating China in three months" had gone bankrupt, tried to make China surrender and end the war. From October to December 1937, the Japanese government initiated moves aimed at inducing surrender and through the intermediary of the German Ambassador to China, Toudmann (陶德曼), both Chiang and Wang expressed readiness to accept "mediation." Because the Chinese Communist Party promptly exposed this criminal deal and in the wake of nationwide protests, capitulationist activities had to be temporarily halted. In January 1938, the Japanese government in a guarded statement sought to set Chiang against Wang and declared that it would not hold peace talks "with the National Government." In July the Japanese bandits decided to recruit black sheep among the Chinese and employ them as "China's first class personages" -- a signal for Wang to surrender. In early November, in a second statement the Japanese government resumed its appeal to the Kuomintang government to surrender, but it demanded that it "reshuffle its personnel structure." This was another booster for Wang to surrender to Japan. In fact, in mid-November, Wang's representatives were closeted with Japanese representatives in Shanghai, and on November 20 they signed the anti-Communist and traitorous "Japan-China agreement." Wang then tried to leave the country secretly. He left Chungking by plane on December 18 and fled abroad in betrayal of the country the next day. On December 23, Japan issued a third statement, outlining the so-called three principles of "good neighborliness, joint defense against communism and economic assistance," of which Wang acknowledged acceptance in a telegram on December 29. Up to this point, Wang finally became a despicable traitor in betrayal of his country.

Subsequently, Wang did everything possible to sell out state sovereignty and national interests. He was ruthless in suppressing anti-Japanese forces, committing towering crimes as an accomplice of the Japanese aggressors in expanding the aggressive war.

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* Wang Ching-wei, "Reply to a Certain Overseas Chinese," Mr. Wang Ching-wei's Important Speeches on the Peace Movement, p. 24.

Before Wang set up a puppet regime, he signed with Japan "A Program for Adjusting New Japan-China Relations" in November 1939. The agreement recognized Japan's domination of China's Northeast, and the Mongolia border region (including Suiyuan, Chahar and northern Shansi at that time), North China, the lower Yangtze River and South China islands as "highly integrated zones of Japan and China" to be placed under permanent occupation by Japanese troops. The pact also recognized the installation of Japanese advisers to carry out "supervision" in Wang's puppet government.

In March 1940 Wang and other traitors assumed office in Nanking, calling their puppet regime "Republic of China," but its actual jurisdiction was limited to parts of Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhwei provinces, Shanghai and Nanking as well as some portions of the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangtung and Kiangsi. In August, the puppet regime signed with Japan a "Treaty Concerning the Basic Relationships between Japan and the Republic of China" and a series of secret clauses that practically auctioned off Chinese rights in the spheres of politics, foreign affairs, culture, education, propaganda, industry, trade, finance, transport and communications. Specific provisions were also made for Japan and Wang to put up "joint defense against communism." In November, under Japan's instructions, the puppet regime took part in the signing of the "Japan-Manchukuo-China Joint Declaration" in formal recognition of the Manchukuo. In this way, Wang cast away the fig leaf for his non-recognition of the Manchukuo in former years. In December 1941, when the Japanese government started the Pacific war, Wang immediately pledged his regime to become Japan's "effective partner" and "determination to share the weal and woe with Japan." In January 1943, Wang's puppet regime and Japan issued a "joint declaration" declaring war against Britain and the US. It also committed Wang's puppet regime to rendering to Japan such services as stabilizing the rear areas, collecting supplies and requisitioning man-power.

While going over to the enemy in betrayal of his country, Wang Ching-wei became more rabid in pursuing policies against communism and the people. In May 1941, the puppet regime set up a "committee for cleaning up the rural areas" for the purpose of faithfully carrying out the Japanese bandits' "three-all policy" in a vain attempt to wipe out the New Fourth Army and suppress popular resistance to Japanese invasion. The "pacification" drive in the first year was mainly pushed in Kiangsu but was extended the following year to Chekiang, Anhwei, Hupeh and Kwangtung. Wherever the enemy and puppet troops went, they killed, burned, pressganged, looted, raped and robbed. Furthermore, innumerable crimes were committed by Wang's puppet regime in intensifying security measures, collecting exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies, exercising "central control" over supplies and enforcing slavish educational programs.

As a brazen and utterly unscrupulous big traitor, Wang spoke of "cherishing each other" and "co-existing for co-prosperity" with the national enemy while the Chinese people were massacred. He also relished preaching slavishness to his henchmen, saying: "Before we suffered from many powerful countries, today we suffer from only one. Chiang Kai-shek

has worked for many years, but still he has lost troops and suffered heavy setbacks, and he has pleased no one at home and abroad. The communist influence is growing every day, and yet Britain and the US still go on humiliating him. He is no better than we are. If we now draw the Japanese into the water to help us oppose the communists, what's wrong with that?" This confession reveals Wang's hatred for the communists and his hostility toward the Chinese people, vividly bringing out his slavish mentality. This despicable character also used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as the theoretical basis for betraying his country. He identified the traitor's "peace movement" with "the true spirit of Confucianism." He condemned the opposition to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as "utterly preposterous." Reverence of Confucius and national betrayal were closely combined in Wang Ching-wei.

Wang reached the age of 60 in 1943. Sensing his imminent doom, he wrote a poem to portray himself: "Having achieved nothing at the age of 60 should not upset nor frighten me. As long as I live, I can still start everything afresh."* In other words, as long as he was alive he would carry on to the last his commitment to oppose the communists and betray his country. When Wang made an attempt on the life of Tai Feng in Peking in former years, he described it as a noble act. As a puppet in Nanking under the wings of the Japanese aggressors, he lamented his failure to achieve anything at the age of 60 and the approach of his doomsday. In more than 30 years of counter-revolutionary career, marked by repudiation of the revolutionary program, renunciation of political convictions, opposition to the communists and the people, the selling out of national interests and other mean acts, he finally became a despicable model of capitulationists. In November 1944, Wang passed away in a hospital in Nagoya, Japan, putting an end to his shameful life.

Exposing and criticizing Wang as a model of capitulationists helps us recognize the reactionary essence of modern capitulationists. The appearance of capitulationists is not an accidental phenomenon among individuals; rather, it is an inevitable reflection inside the revolution of political forces representing the interests of reactionary classes. Wang represented the interests of imperialism and the big landlord and big bourgeois classes; he used the power usurped in the revolutionary party and carried its membership card to serve the reactionary classes; he flaunted the banner of Sun Yat-sen to oppose the revolutionary forces represented by Sun Yat-sen; he pushed a capitulationist line and finally openly fell into the arms of the national enemy. Aren't some of this typical capitulationist's characteristics also found in Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing? Under the new historical conditions, owing to the existence of imperialism and social-imperialism, the existence of

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* Lei Ming, Life of Mr. Wang Ching-wei, p. 404.

the overthrown class enemies in the country that have not been reconciled to their defeat, the existence in society at large of the old-brand bourgeoisie and their intellectuals, the on-going transformation of large numbers of the petty bourgeoisie and the existence of bourgeois rights, a new bourgeoisie will still be engendered. These are the international and domestic root causes for the inevitable appearance of capitalist roaders and the revisionist line pushed by them throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And in essence capitalist roaders are capitulationists and the revisionist line is a capitulationist line. Therefore,the struggle to oppose capitulationists and criticize the capitulationist line is a long-term fighting task. We must strive to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, particularly Chairman Mao's instructions on criticizing Water Margin and the existence of the bourgeoisie right in the Communist Party. We must raise our discerning ability, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, and resolutely carry the struggle to reuplse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts through to the end. We must defend the victorious fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution and fight bravely in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Class Struggle in the Field of Natural Science As Seen from the Early History of the Royal Society of London

by

Chao Hung-chou (赵 红州)

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The Royal Society, the "supreme academic authoritative organization" of the British bourgeoisie, has traditionally been considered by some to be an above-class academic body. However, it was precisely this academic body which in its early years experienced a fierce struggle for leadership between the feudal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. This fact demonstrated that in a class society, from the very outset the development of science and technology has been intimately associated with class struggle, and that it is entirely wrong to negate class struggle in the domain of science and technology.

The Royal Society in its early days was known as the "invisible college," born during the British bourgeois revolution in the 17th century, and formed spontaneously by bourgeois intellectuals. At that time it was full of vigor and vitality and played a definite role in promoting the development of modern natural science. However, after the restoration by the House of Stuart, the Royal Society became a "science club" under the wings of the royal family and, as a result, seriously degenerated during the 18th century. The industrial revolution took place in England in the mid-18th century. In order to contend with the landed aristocracy for the right to scientific research, the industrial bourgeoisie successively organized such scientific organizations as the "Lunar Society" as a means of challenging the Royal Society. In particular, during the "parliamentary reform" of 1832, the struggle between the British Association for the Promotion of Science, which represented the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, and the Royal Society dealt heavy blows to the feudal forces and theological tradition in the scientific and technological circles, -- a struggle which not only expedited the capitalist reform of the Royal Society but also led to the resurgence of British science in the mid-19th century.

The early history of the Royal Society was a history of struggle for the position of science and technology between the bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocracy. Studying this piece of history of science will help us refute the reactionary fallacies spread by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, such as "exception should be made for the scientific and technological circles" and "mention of proletarian dictatorship is unnecessary" there. It will help us study the relationships among class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiments and deepen our understanding of the nature and tasks of socialist revolution in the domain of science and technology at the moment.

The British Bourgeois Revolution and the Rise of the Royal Society

Europe in the Middle Ages went through a very long and dark historical period. The Vatican, which combined politics and religion, relying on the web-like hierarchical system, not only possessed one-third of the estates of the Catholic world but also monopolized the knowledge of culture and science. The task it set science was to depict the perfection and harmony of nature and extol God's infinite power and wisdom. At that point of history, scholasticism was the supreme ruling thought, and whoever cast the slightest doubt on it would run the risk of death.* Thousands of progressives and scientists suffered from religious persecution since the Middle Ages. Therefore, to acquire the right to existence, natural science must rise up in revolution and direct the spearhead of struggle primarily at the most reactionary Church and its theological thought.

With the rise of capitalism, the bourgeoisie employed natural science as a powerful weapon with which to oppose the feudal system. "Natural science developed amid the widespread revolution at that time."** And during the renaissance, Copernicus first hoisted the flag of rebellion in the position of natural science, and Bruno willingly let himself be burned to death. The pioneers of the bourgeoisie welcomed the dawn of modern natural science with their heads and blood.

In the 16th century, social production had already created the conditions necessary for the birth of a theoretical system of modern natural science. Navigation and mechanical processing pushed astronomy and mechanics into the "first seat" of science. To develop capitalist production, the bourgeoisie was in urgent need of science and did not hesitate to pour huge amounts of manpower, material and financial resources in the form of huge rewards in guineas into scientific experiments aimed at solving the problems of determining the longitudes and latitudes relevant to navigation.

Toward the end of the 16th century, capitalism entered the stage of workshop industry. This change in the mode of material production soon had an impact on the domain of natural science. In their pursuit of profits,

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* In the 13th century, the progressive thinker Roger Bacon was imprisoned by the Church for 14 years because of his advocacy of practical science. The Italian thinker Campanella was incarcerated for 27 years. In the 16th century philosopher Bruno was burned at the stake by the Inquisition for his propagation of the Copernican theory. There were also other progressive scientists such as Balaselius who were persecuted by the Church because they held the view of circulatory system.

** Engels, Dialectics of Nature, People's Publishing House, 1971 edition, p. 8.

capitalists, as in dealing with workshop industry workers, wanted to organize scientists to carry out, on the basis of division of work and cooperation, huge-scale scientific research tasks imposed by capital on science. On the other hand, scientists found it hard to resist the attack of theological forces individually, and hence felt the equal need to get organized to strive, in the name of scientific body, for social recognition and support of capitalists. In this way, scientific associations and scientific organizations successively sprang up like bamboo shoots after a spring rain on the western European continent.*

In 1645, that is, the fifth year of the British bourgeois revolution, a group of British scientists spontaneously communicated with one another.** Their common class interests in opposing the feudal forces and their intensive desire to develop science brought them together, and by means of tea parties and correspondence, they exchanged their respective results and ideas in scientific research, and held irregular scientific discussion meetings. For lack of a definite organizational form and rules and regulations, this group was generally known as the "Invisible College."

The "Invisible College," inspired by the bourgeois revolution, spent its "golden years" in the history of science. At that time, these scientists, bragging about "freedom of research," "personal struggle" and "private ownership of knowledge," founded their scientific research on the foundation of workshop industry. Because they focused their attention on certain major technical problems of that time (such as the water pump, cannonade and navigation art), they were warmly welcomed and vigorously supported by the bourgeoisie. Financed by the bourgeoisie, Hooke conducted many outstanding experiments and discovered the law of elasticity and this later almost made him one of the chief stalwarts of the Royal Society. Concurrently, on the basis of the practical experiences of the working people, Boyle discovered the law of gases, and Newton and Leibnitz of Germany simultaneously founded the calculus. Newton, in particular, on the basis of work done by the predecessors, laid the physical foundation represented by the Newton mechanics. These achievements undoubtedly were the crystallization of the wisdom of the working people, products of the British bourgeois revolution. And the "Invisible College" also made definite contributions in these respects.

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* Scientific bodies that appeared in the mid-17th century included the "Invisible College" in England, the Pascal "Private Society" in France, the "Imperial Science College of France" and, earlier still, the "Wild Cat Society" in Italy, and so forth.

** In 1645, on the initiative of Wilkins, mathematicians Wallis and Hark and some physicians first held weekly meetings at Gresham College, London. In 1646 they moved their activities to Oxford University. At this time, some other scientists (such as Boyle, Hooke, Wren and the economist William Petty) also joined the "invisible College."

This shows that the birth of scientific bodies such as the "Invisible College" marked the vigorous revolutionary period of scientific experiment in the history of the West and marked the attack by the bourgeoisie against the feudal forces on the front of science and technology. Scientific experiment, depending on the productive forces released by the bourgeois revolution, acquired a substantial material basis. It also obtained from the revolution in the superstructure a powerful ideological weapon -- the materialist philosophy of atheism, and blazed a trail for its own development. As Engels said: "Henceforth science marched on in giant strides and acquired a kind of power, which may be expressed in direct proportion to the square of the distance from its starting point (time)."* If it were said that the scientists of the "Invisible College" obtained from capital its economic backing, then, in the "Invisible College" capital found a reprint of the workshop industry in the circles of science and technology. A scientific body became the best form remotely controlled by the capitalists with money but without showing themselves; it became a center in which the bourgeoisie peddled its political views. How could a scientitific organization be said to be an above-class academic body? In fact, the "Invisible College," from the very day of its birth, was a scientific setup with heavy bourgeois political hues. Its earliest promoter Wilkins was a brother-in-law of the bourgeois politician Cromwell, and most of the other members were bourgeois elements sympathetic to the "Parliamentarians." The modern history of science conclusively demonstrates that scientific experiment has never for a single day been separated from class struggle -- this powerful motive force. What a sound slap on the face to those capitalist roaders in the Party who are keen on separating scientific experiment from the three great revolutionary movements and refuse to make mention of class struggle as the key link.

Restoration of the House of Stuart and the Decline of the Royal Society

In 1660, the House of Stuart was reinstated in England. To seize back the position of science and technology it had lost, the declining feudal forces colluded with Charles II and in 1662 changed the "Invisible College" into "The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge," and twice conferred on it a "charter," thereby making it a scientific organization under the wings of the royal family. Charles II considered himself as the "great founder," and firmly held the leadership power of the society. The method he drew up for the election of fellows** in effect barred many

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* Engels, Dialectics of Nature, People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, p. 8.

** This electoral method stipulated: An applicant must have the formal recommendations of three fellows. His application would be hung on the wall and if no serious objections were forthcoming within ten weeks, the applicant would be accepted as a formal fellow of the Royal Society.

bourgeois scientists out of the door. "Philosophical Translations," the distribution of which he approved, also became a publication of young aristocrats and feudal man of letters. Because "at that time the middle class in England usually consisted of upstarts who had little education,"* it was very difficult for them to be qualified for fellowship, the more so to publish their own views in "Translations." On the other hand, "educated" young aristocrats, even though they knew nothing about science, might worm their way into the society in the name of poet or scholar and through "election by connections." They filled the "Philosophical Translations" with strange theological absurdities and products of low taste to publicize the reactionary theology.** Considering themselves to be knowledgeable and well-bred, they regarded the bourgeoisie and the working people with scorn. Thus, besides the several original stalwarts of the "Invisible College," the Royal Society basically became a social body of young aristocrats.+ Bureaucracy stifled the revolutionary spirit of the "Invisible College," and consequently, short of funds, the society could not but beg help from the royal family.++ The so-called "scientific fame of the era of Charles II the wise king" was nothing but the abusive use of the "Invisible College's" reputation. Even Newton's outstanding achievements were not made in the Royal Society. At most, the Royal Society only assisted Newton in publishing his scientific research results of more than 20 years before.+++

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* Engels, Anti-Dühring, People's Publishing House, 1970 edition, p. 342.

** According to records, the early "Philosophical Translations" was very complex in content. There were a great variety of idle legends ranging from the remnant writings and building sites of the Roman period to various malformed fetuses, bladder stones of dogs and multifarious mushrooms, but there were no works bearing on production practice.

\+ As could be seen from the signature in the "register" of the Royal Society, there were many aristocrats. The first page was a "special page for the royal family." Those who signed, besides Charles II, were Duke York of the James XII, the Danish Crown Prince, Duke George, and many members of the royal family.

++ According to records, in the newly established Royal Society, members had to take care of their own expense, and one shilling per person per weekly meeting was collected, but even so dues were hard to collect. Therefore, to ask the royal family for money, it had to serve the restorationist politics of the royal family.

+++ Newton's Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica was nominally published by the Royal Society, but actually the publication expenses were paid by Newton's friend Haley (哈雷).

Toward the end of the 17th century, the Royal Society became from "invisible" to "visible," from spontaneous to regular, and while it advanced superficially, it actually regressed. It demonstrated that restoration of feudal forces in the domain of science and reflected the compromise and surrender of the British bourgeoisie to theological forces.* The case of Newton was exceptionally typical.

Before joining the Royal Society, Newton was full of vitality. Attaching great importance to experiments, he stressed the present and slighted the past, destroyed and constructed in a big way, created and innovated, displaying the revolutionary spirit of the bourgeoisie in its period of ascendancy. However, since he became a fellow of the Royal Society, he began to be intoxicated with the theological upbringing of the nobility. Newton once declared that he was willing to use the research in natural philosophy to prove "God's" existence so as to "better serve God." For this Newton was commended by Charles II, who personally appointed him Dean of the "Trinity College." In 1687, when Newton published his early scientific research result Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica, he wrote it in Latin. And the "uneducated" British bourgeoisie had to wait for 42 years before reading the English version of this work.**

Because Newton supported the "coup of 1688," the result of compromise between the big bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocracy, the "glorious revolution"*** conferred on Newton titles including that of President of the Royal Society and member of Parliament. The British government, to accord special consideration to this scientist of renown, made him Master of Mint. To commend his loyalty to the royal family, the Queen specially knighted him. Therefore, in his remaining years Newton became a social dignitary loaded with honor and wealth. Emoluments and official ranks eroded Newton's thought, and he shoved his head right into the waste paper of theology, entirely becoming its slave. In order to verify such absurd nonsense as "whether the small horn of a four-horn

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* The central figure of the Royal Society Boyle (son of an English Count) openly declared before his death that he was willing to donate 50 guineas annually toward holding a theological forum as a means of opposing those who did not believe in God. Newton's good friend Bishop Bentley presided over the first forum; he extensively quoted the "scientific data" provied by Newton to attack Spinoza's atheist philosophy.

** The English version of Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica translated by Motter (摩特) was published in 1729.

*** British bourgeois historians called the "coup of 1688" "glorious revolution." This coup overthrew the House of Stuart and established constitutional monarchy through the compromise between the big bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy.

divine animal represents the Pope," Newton spent his last 25 years on researches into the voluminous "Biblical" works, Greek mythology and Egyptian legends. The degree of absurdity was in no way less than that of the theological nonsense of Middle Ages Scholasticism in determining "how many angels can stand on the tip of a needle." After Newton's death, people found from his posthumous manuscripts that besides the several hundred thousand words he wrote on alchemy, there were more than 1.5 million words about theology and chronology. While he was alive, Newton once said smugly: "When I wrote about our systematic works, I directed my attention to some principles which might make thoughtful people believe in the existence of God; and when I saw their usefulness to this purpose, no other things could make me happier."

The changes in Newton's attitude tell people vividly that natural scientists have never lived outside of class struggle. Class struggle in society influences not only the world outlook of scientists but also their scientific careers. The bourgeois revolution produced such a brilliant scientist as Newton, enabling him in his early years to perform merit for the bourgeois scientific enterprise. On the other hand, the feudal aristocracy, through theological upbringing, caused Newton's religious idealism to develop viciously, with the result that he not only achieved nothing whatsoever in science during his remaining 30-40 years but even blocked the road for people to find truth. Newton's degeneration certainly was not merely the tragedy of Newton himself, but reflected the contention for scientists between the declining feudal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. In class society, the struggle between two kinds of world outlook in the domain of natural science is a reflection of class struggle in scientific and technological circles.

In the 18th century the Royal Society was seriously withering away. In 1750, when Von Ufenbach (封·乌芬巴赫) visited the Royal Society, his impression was: The Society was not only disorderly and untidy, but a lot of its equipment had fallen into disrepair and some were even stolen. After Newton, the president of the Royal Society was Martin Foulkes, who used to doze off on the chair at sessions over which he presided. A satirical poem said of him: When Martin dreams of Newton, jokes arise in the history of science; when he wakes up, he knows not where he is, and "why am I on this chair? he asks."* Even when Banks, who was more highly appraised by the bourgeoisie,was President (1778-1820), many idle social dignitaries found their way into the Society, which almost became a club of upper-level personages and whose name stood for the "highly educated." According to the statistics compiled by the society's only periodical "Philosophical Translations," within 35 years beginning from 1780, only one-sixth of the more than 600 fellows really worked, with all the rest having nothing to do at all. People of the latter category were

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* Andrade (安德雷德), Short History of the Royal Society, 1960 edition, London, p. 8.

just like male bees mingling in a beehive, being stupid and lazy, and were called "lazy fellows of the Royal Society." Besides doing nothing themselves, they also suppressed newborn things. Denis Papin, assistant to the Dutch physicist Huygens, eventually died of destitution on a London street because the vacuum pump he designed was rejected by the society.* As some scientists commented critically: The Royal Society of the 18th century "in effect became the inner-circle organization of its fellows, controlling the majority of the fellowship. It was merely a casual friend of science and even was no longer its generous patron."** In fact, the Royal Society at this time had degenerated to the pitiable stage where it maintained its facade with the reputation of its foreign fellows. From 1727 to 1757, among the British fellows of the Royal Society there was almost no renowned scientist, and the brilliant fellows were all scientists from other countries such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, D'Alembert, Linne, Berthollet (伯努利).

The decline of the Royal Society in the 18th century was entirely the result of the compromise between the big British bourgeoisie (i.e., the mercentilist bourgeoisie) on the one hand and feudal aristocracy and theology on the other. Dynastic restoration not only economically weakened the material foundation of science, but also encouraged the growth of the reactionary arrogance of theological forces in the realm of the superstructure. As a result, science was gravely crippled. After "the coup of 1688," the big bourgeoisie, satisfied with its vested interests, ceased to provide generous contributions to science as it did before. They began to pick up the aristocratic upbringing, stressed the theoretical and systematic aspects of science and obliterated the practical significance of science in an attempt to confine science to the circle of a few persons. Deprived of the rich nutrition from the practice of millions and millions of the laboring people and the powerful motive force of social revolution, science could not but go on withering away.

The modern history of science indicates that class struggle carried out by advanced classes is the powerful motive force for the promotion of science, whereas restorationist activities by declining classes can only mean the destruction of science. This historical lesson we must not forget at all times. Especially when the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, is fully engaged in restorationist activities, clamoring for "the peculiarity of the scientific and technological circles," the proletariat should all the more heighten its vigilance. Beware that

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* In 1708, Papin wrote to the Royal Society asking for 15 guineas to finance the experiment on the vacuum pump. It was said that his design was very near to success. However, the Society replied: "The Society cannot give you the loan unless success is guaranteed." This was a sharp contrast to Boyle's annual donation of 50 guineas for the "Theological Forum."

** Charles Barbege, Decline of English Science.

the "modern Charles II" may come out to undermine our country's socialist scientific research enterprises.

Emergence of the Birmingham "Lunar Society" and the Struggle Between Two Types of Scientific Research Systems

In the mid-18th century England, the accumulation of capital, supply of a large amount of free labor and the expansion of foreign markets created favorable conditions for the transition from the workshop industry to big machine industry. At this point, the industrial bourgeoisie clearly saw that the Royal Society would not be helpful to them in developing large-scale industry. Out of their own class interests, they decided to criticize the theological style of the Royal Society. In 1751, Hill undertook a serious examination of the publications of the Royal Society, relentlessly exposed the errors of that society in filling the "Philosophical Translations" with absurd articles.* Hill's criticisms caused a big stir in society at large. Since then, "Philosophical Translations" underwent significant changes both in literary style and content.

Meanwhile, ignoring the derisions of the Royal Society, the industrial bourgeoisie widely organized "heretical" colleges,** incorporating practical science into textbooks and combining scientific research with production in a bid to create its own scientific research system. In this connection, the "Lunar Society" of Birmingham was most outstanding. The membership of this scientific body was vastly different from that of the Royal Society. Among its members were inventors of humble origin such as Watt, progressive scientists such as Priestley and E. Darwin, mechanical engineers of craftsman origin as well as radical writers and social activists. Celebrated bourgeois scholars such as Adam Smith and Hume had intimate connections with the "Lunar Society." Members of the "Lunar Society" cooperated with each other and conducted experiments jointly. On the basis of creations and inventions by thousands of handicraft workers, they made contributions to the British industrial revolution. Boulton***

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* Hill, A Review of the Works of the Royal Society of London, 1751 edition.

** Approximately 100 years after the British bourgeois revolution, British universities still preserved the traditions of scholastic colleges of the Middle Ages. It was not until mid-18th century, when the so-called "heretical colleges" that appeared everywhere in northern England, such as Wellington College, Darfantely (达汾特利) College, etc., that the theological traditions of the old scholastic colleges were broken, and for the first time practical sciences including navigation were incorporated into the teaching programs.

*** Mathew Boulton was one of the central figures of the "Lunar Society." He became a rich man after he manufactured Watt's first steam engine.

once boasted to the Queen of England: "What I am selling is the motive power needed by the world." At this time the Royal Society almost became a purely "theoretical gossip house," and those who really were in the van of British science were "unqualified" scientists from the Birmingham coal dunes.

Occupation of the scientific research position by the industrial bourgeoisie displeased the landed aristocracy and all other remnant feudal forces. They brought out the royalist Count Rumford and created the so-called "Royal Institution"* to counter the "Lunar Society." At the same time, using various intrigues, they sought to undermine the scientific research enterprise of the industrial bourgeoisie. In 1791, they incited a group of royalist hooligans to break into the house of Priestley of the "Lunar Society," and in the name of protecting the king and state religion, wrecked his laboratory and furniture.

Facts show that in class society, the struggle between diverse scientific research traditions and scientific research systems is, in the final analysis, a life-and-death struggle between two classes. During its rising phase the bourgeoisie, in order to establish its own scientific research system, had to pay a very high price and fight countless battles with the feudal forces, and finally established it after the Great French Revolution.** Had they talked with the feudal aristocracy about "theoretical level" and "scientific tradition," they would have caused their own scientific research enterprise to drown in the muddy water of "theological upbringing." Lenin once stated: "The moribund feudal nobility avenged themselves on the bourgeoisie which vanquished them and took their place, not only by conspiracies and attempts at rebellion and restoration, but also by pouring ridicule over the lack of skill, the clumsiness and the mistakes of the 'upstarts' and the 'insolent' who dared to take hold of the 'sacred helm' of state without the centuries of training which the princes, barons, nobles and dignitaries had....and now the

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* The Royal Institution was established in 1799, originally created by the royalist Rumford to oppose the British industrial revolution. "Combination of science, utilitarianism and robust royalist sentiment made the Royal Institution a fashionable center and, like an opera house, enjoyed the great appreciation of the aristocracy and high society" (Bernard). However, contrary to the wishes of the founders, owing to the bourgeois radical movement and the positive roles of Davy and Faraday, the Royal Institution later was also transformed into one of the scientific research bases for the British bourgeoisie.

** The greatest achievement of the French Revolution on the scientific and technological front consisted of the establishment of a new bourgeois educational and scientific research system, reform of the weights and measures (metric system) and the fostering of a group of outstanding scientists such as Laplace, Carnot and Monge, putting French science in the van in the Western world of the 18th century.

whole of that fraternity of heroes of bourgeois swindling or bourgeois skepticism avenge themselves on the working class of Russia for having had the 'audacity' to take power."* By the time it began to decline, the bourgeoisie, like the moribund feudal aristocracy, ridiculed and avenged itself on the newly emerging proletariat, and disseminated the fallacy "science for the sake of science" with a view to deceiving the proletariat and the working masses and thus protecting its "hereditary fief" in the scientific and technological circles. The arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing knows neither Marxism-Leninism nor history, yet talks volubly about such things as "opening the doors of scientific institutes isn't scientific" and "respect must be shown to scientific traditions." He is so hostile to the occupation of the scientific and technological position by the workers, peasants and soldiers that this has merely exposed his reactionary stand as general representative of the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

Struggle Between the British Association for the Promotion of Science and the Royal Society

The British industrial revolution gave a great impetus to the development of the productive forces, but it also sharpened the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. These contradictions found concentrated expression in the changes of British class relations and intensification of class contradictions. The industrial revolution created a brand new industrial proletariat and at the same time also strengthened the industrial bourgeoisie, giving rise to a radical movement of the British bourgeoisie.**

As Engels said: "The bourgeoisie of 1830 was vastly different from the bourgeoisie of a century ago. Political power which still remained in the hands of the aristocracy and was used by it to check the ambitions of the new industrial bourgeoisie no longer was compatible with the new economic interests. Thus, a new struggle had to be waged against the aristocracy."+ The outcome of the struggle could only be the defeat of the aristocracy and the triumph of the industrial bourgeoisie, that is, the "parliamentary reform" of 1832.++

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* "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 514.

** The British bourgeois radical movement referred to the political struggle waged by the British industrial bourgeoisie against the landed aristocracy at the turn of the 19th century. Out of this struggle came the British "parliamentary reform" of 1832.

\+ Engels, Anti-Dühring, p. 340.

++ Referring to the reform of the electoral law. The election law reform, having been finally approved by the Upper House in 1832, broke the political monopoly of the landed and financial aristocracy and opened the door for representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie to enter parliament.

This political struggle touched off strong reactions in the British scientific and technological circles.

In 1831, concurrently with the contention for political power between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy, a group of young scholars headed by the mathematician Barbege (巴贝治) began to launch vehement attack against the Royal Society.* They directed the spearhead of struggle against the old system of "electing members." In that same year, on Barbege's initiative, the Association for the Promotion of Science was formally set up and staged rival dramas with the Royal Society in various major cities in England. Besides taking up the work of popularization, it also undertook, with state financial assistance, major scientific research projects, unfolding general research into earthquakes, tidal waves, meteorology, geology, magnetism, electricity, biology, etc. Since the Association represented the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, supported newborn things in science and relentlessly struck at the reactionary theological forces, it quickly became a scientific organization much more famous than the Royal Society. Scientific meetings it organized often became forums for major scientific debates of that period. For example, during the big debate on the theory of evolution in 1860,** the eminent biologist Huxley strongly denounced the provocations of the theological forces; a speech delivered by Tyndall concerning the possibility of life originating from inorganic matter in 1870 once again drove God out of the domain of living things. In addition, the Association invited Von Liebig to deliver a report on agricultural chemistry, which also swept away the vicious babbling habit of theology and for the first time really turned the attention of science toward the practical problems of agricultural production.+ The above struggles were all well-known polemics in the history of science and produced a far-reaching influence on the capitalist reform of the Royal Society.

Faced with the powerful offensives of the radical movement of the British industrial bourgeoisie and especially the Chartist Movement of the British working class,++ the feudal forces in the British scientific and

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* Charles Barbege, Decline of English Science.

** Referring to a great debate on Darwin's "evolution" at Oxford University in 1860. On one side of the debate were Archbishop Wilberforce and his supporters, the landed aristocrats and their children. On the other side were young scientists and students represented by Huxley. After fierce struggle, Wilberforce was defeated.

\+ In 1846,Liebig delivered a report at the "British Association for the Promotion of Science," entitled "Chemistry and Its Application in Agriculture and Physiology."

++ The Chartist Movement was a struggle of the British working class and working masses for their own liberation. This was the first extensive and genuinely popular political revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

technological circles suffered heavy blows. In 1847, the Royal Society promulgated new reform rules, abolished the old "election through connections," and enforced a new "annual election system."* In order to increase the opportunities for bourgeois intellectuals to publish their views, a new publication, "Record of Royal Society," was added since 1832 and carried articles which could not be published in "Philosophical Translations." In 1887, the latter publication was divided into A and B sections, and the contents were expanded in an effort to serve bourgeois politics. The implementation of the new electoral system signified the victory of the bourgeoisie in the internal power struggle of the Royal Society, and signified a more thorough capitalist reform of the Royal Society.

It is worth noting that the struggle between the Association for the Promotion of Science and the Royal Society was in essence a class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy for leadership over scientific research, even though this struggle was more often than not concealed by academic debates.

Engels said: "Since the establishment of large-scale industry.... it has been no longer a secret to any man in England that the whole political struggle there turned on the claims to supremacy of two classes: the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie."** This struggle, reflected in the sphere of science and technology, was a struggle between scientific bodies representing the interests of two classes. The 18th century saw the confrontation between the "Lunar Society" and the "Royal Society," and the 19th century the trial of strength between the Association for the Promotion of Science and the Royal Society. Such struggles continued to grow in intensity in the wake of the upsurge of the radical movement of the industrial bourgeoisie. Finally, in the early 19th century, the divergence between two types of scientific research systems turned into an open political struggle for leadership over scientific research. The landed aristocracy, through the Royal Society, wanted to preserve its dominant position in the field of scientific research in England, while the industrial bourgeoisie wanted, through the Association for Promotion of Science, to take over the fame of the Royal Society as "the highest authoritative organization of science" in order to influence the orientation of development of scientific research in England. Both parties in the struggle were well aware of the importance of seizing the leadership in scientific research. Whoever held the power

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* The new electoral system provided: The election of fellows to the Society was to be held annually. The number of newly elected fellows must not exceed 15. The candidates must be recommended by the evaluation committee, and the particulars of a candidate's life, academic background and works were published in a booklet to be distributed to all fellows. The number of sponsors was also increased from 3 to 6.

** Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classic German Philosophy," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. IV, p. 245.

over scientific research would be able to occupy all scientific research positions in the country, control all scientists, take possession of all scientific achievements and serve the interests of his own class. Such was the class essence of the struggle between the Association for the Promotion of Science and the Royal Society.

The early history of the Royal Society of London tells us vividly that the domain of natural science has never been a vacuum zone of class struggle, but a fierce battlefield of class struggle. Which class takes over the scientific research position, the ideology of which class permeates scientific theory, and which class scientists serve -- all these are manifested as class struggle in the domain of science and technology, the focal point being the contention for scientific research leadership. In China today, when the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are locked in fierce battle to seize the scientific and technological front, when the struggle between transformation and anti-transformation and between restoration and anti-restoration rages on, the so-called slogan "don't mention proletarian dictatorship on the scientific and technological front" is utterly reactionary, part of the conspiracy of the bourgeoisie in the Party to try to lead our scientific research enterprise astray and make it a tool for capitalist restoration.

Lenin said rightly: "Our 'guarantee of preventing restoration' is to carry revolution through to the end and not to compromise with reactionaries."*

Recently, Chairman Mao, in criticism of the Teng Hsiao-p'ing-inspired Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, said: "What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

These instructions from Lenin and Chairman Mao point out the direction for the development of our scientific research enterprise. In other words, we must take class struggle as the key link and carry out in depth the socialist revolution in the scientific and technological circles. It is only in this way that we can shatter, once and for all, the pipe dreams of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing for capitalist restoration and give our young socialist scientific research enterprise the motive power for forging ahead now and forever.

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* "Report at a Congress for the Unity of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. X, p. 307.

The Great Cultural Revolution Is Class Struggle

by

K'un Chün (昆駿)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 3, June 20, 1976)

Ten years ago, under the guidance of the May 16 "Circular" of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party drawn up under the personal supervision of our great leader Chairman Mao, the spectacular great proletarian cultural revolution began to flourish over the length and breadth of the country.

"What is the cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle." During the period of socialism, under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, the occurrence of such a large-scale and profound class struggle as the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country was by no means accidental; rather, it was an inevitable result of the growing contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie throughout the historical period of socialism.

As early as 1949, on the eve of the transition from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao raised the question of class struggle in the historical period of socialism and pointed out clearly: After the proletariat seized nationwide power, the major contradiction at home was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." At that time, the first task of the socialist revolution was to convert the capitalist system of private ownership to the socialist system of public ownership. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and through acute and complicated class struggle, we fulfilled this task in a short period of a few years, basically realizing the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. At the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee in 1962, Chairman Mao once more emphasized the problem of class struggle and formulated the basic line for the Party during the historical period of socialism and the theory of continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. At that time, the bourgeoisie, though deprived of their means of production, were irreconciled to their defeat and constantly schemed for a comeback. And due to the existence of bourgeois rights in the country, a new bourgeoisie also was engendered continuously. The struggle between the two classes and two lines in society was bound to be reflected in the Party. Internationally, in an attempt to carry out aggression and subversion against our country, imperialists and socialist-imperialists also sought out their agents in our Party. All this demonstrated that after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and the great victory in repulsing the attack of the bourgeois Rightists, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie did not die out, but in a more intense and prominent fashion manifested itself as the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within the Party. Therefore, the socialist

revolution must not be halted but carried on in depth under the guidance of the Party's basic line drawn up by Chairman Mao and with the Party bourgeoisie as the main target.

The May 16 "Circular" of the Party Central Committee pointed out: "Bourgeoisie agents who infiltrated the Party, the government, the army and cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once the time is ripe, they will seize power and change proletarian dictatorship into bourgeoisie dictatorship." This incisive statement revealed the new situation and new characteristics of class struggle in the period of socialism; it pointed out the most dangerous enemies to continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship were the Party bourgeoisie, the capitalist roaders in power within the Party, who pushed the revisionist line and tried to restore capitalism. The purpose of the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself, was "to topple capitalist roaders in power, criticize the reactionary academic 'authorities' of the bourgeoisie and the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, reform education, literature and art, and reform those parts of the superstructure inconsistent with the socialist economic base so as to consolidate and develop the socialist system."

The practice of class struggle over a long period of time has proved that Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and associates, who are capitalist roaders in power in the Party, are all political representatives of the bourgeoisie, leaders of all social forces and groups which resist socialist revolution and are hostile to and undermine socialist construction in carrying out trials of strength with the proletariat. Making use of the Party's prestige among the people, they play the trick of hoisting the red flag to oppose the red flag and mislead people with Marxist phrases. By usurping key positions in the Party and government, they may formulate and push a revisionist line "legally" and from the above. They are indeed far more ruthless than the bourgeoisie in society in directing the restoration of capitalism. In retrospect, prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, it was by using the power they usurped that Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang frantically pushed the revisionist line in the realm of the superstructure and enforced the bourgeois dictatorship. The situation then was exactly as criticized by Chairman Mao: the Ministry of Culture "if not changed, might as well be called the ministry of emperors, kings, generals and ministers, the ministry of scholars and beauties or the ministry of foreign mummies;" the Ministry of Health should also change its name to "ministry of health for urban overlords." In educated circles, "the rule by bourgeois intellectuals in our schools cannot be allowed to continue." In addition, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, banking on their authority, peddled revisionist contrabands in the field of the economic base, expanded bourgeois rights, and did their best to alter the nature of socialist ownership. Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao said: "It appears that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. As I see it, the leadership of a considerable number of factories -- not all or the overwhelming majority -- was not in the hands of true Marxists and the masses of workers." The objective situation of class struggle

indicated that prior to the great cultural revolution, many departments from the superstructure to the economic base were controlled by the Party bourgeoisie, who used these positions to wildly attack the proletariat. In order to strengthen its own power and forestall the restoration of capitalism, the proletariat must repulse the attack of the Party bourgeoisie and recover the positions occupied by them. Thus, a life-and-death battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie became inevitable.

Chairman Mao had long observed this and led us time and again to struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Still, as pointed out by Chairman Mao afterward, "In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspects openly, in an all-round way and from below." Basing himself on the theory of proletarian dictatorship, Chairman Mao summed up the rich experience, positive and negative, in the history of the international communist movement as well as the rich experience in the Party's prolonged struggle against the Party bourgeoisie, and finally found a form capable of solving the problem. This is the great proletarian cultural revolution. Led by Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution aroused the masses from below to launch class struggle. In this struggle, hundreds of millions of the masses, raising high the big banner of justified rebellion and displaying the dauntless spirit of "daring to suffer a thousand cuts to unhorse the emperor," used the weapon of mass contending, blooming, debate and big-character posters to open heavy fire at the bourgeois headquarters and those areas and departments controlled by the capitalist roaders. The capitalist roaders within the Party, to save their own necks, dished up a bourgeois reactionary line and employed different ghostly tricks to suppress the mass movement, split the mass ranks and engage in combat with the proletariat. The struggle over the past decade has been a sharp, complex, and breath-taking class struggle. Under Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership, we were able to score one victory after another, eliminating the Party capitalist roaders' interference with and sabotage against the movement. It was the great cultural revolution, a large-scale and popular class struggle,that destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, crushed the Party bourgeoisie's plot to restore capitalism, penetratingly criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, seized back a portion of Party and state leadership power usurped by them, and insured the country's victorious progress along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It was also this large-scale and popular class struggle that provided the impetus for the nationwide growing mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, for the working class to mount the stage of struggle -- criticism -- transformation in the superstructure, for the sturdy growth of new socialist things, for the rapid advance of industrial and agricultural production and the national economy as a whole, and for the emergence of a new phase of prosperity in our country's socialist revolution and construction. The practice of class struggle over the past ten years has vindicated Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis: "The current great proletarian

cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution is a profound class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, it has inevitably faced opposition and attack from the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, especially the Party capitalist roaders. For the past ten years there has been an acute struggle between two classes and two lines revolving around whether to affirm or negate the great proletarian cultural revolution. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao opposed the cultural revolution, and now Teng Hsiao-p'ing in stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts also directed the spearhead at the great proletarian cultural revolution. In negating this revolution, the capitalist roaders have tried to outdo each other and go the whole length. The history of class struggle over the past decade tells us that to negate the cultural revolution, the capitalist roaders invariably have wanted to promote the theory of the dying out of class struggle, using every possible means to distort the class content of the cultural revolution and basically denying that the great cultural revolution is a class struggle.

Ten years ago, the May 16 "Circular" of the Party Central Committee, criticizing the theory of the dying out of class struggle advocated in the reactionary "February outline report" prepared by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, pointed out: "They basically deny that the history of mankind over the past thousands of years has been a history of class struggle; they basically negate class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the revolution waged by the proletariat against and its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are the faithful running dogs of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Together with the bourgeoisie and imperialism they persist in the ideological system of bourgeois oppression and exploitation of the proletariat, uphold the capitalist social system, and oppose the Marxist-Leninist ideological system and the socialist social system." Teng Hsiao-p'ing's political program of "taking the three directive as the key link" for reversal of verdicts and restoration is in fact a carbon copy of the reactionary "February outline report." Its purpose is likewise to negate class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. It is precisely in the guise of "fully carrying out Chairman Mao's directives" that Teng Hsiao-p'ing lunatically launched a counter-attack in revenge against the great proletarian cultural revolution, thereby amply revealing his ugly features as the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party in trying to reverse the history of the cultural revolution and restore capitalism.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who harbors inveterate hatred for the great cultural revolution, alleged: "Let's forget all about those problems of the great cultural revolution. Don't think about them, and don't mention them. My memory is bad, I've forgotten them all." Teng Hsiao-p'ing was previously second in command in Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeoisie headquarters. During the cultural revolution he was subject to criticism and struggle by

the revolutionary masses. How can he "forget" the great cultural revolution, which he "disapproves and wants to settle the old scores with?" The truth is that this is but one of his counter-revolutionary strategies. The cultural revolution is class struggle, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants people to forget class struggle by "forgetting" the great cultural revolution. Lenin once pointed out: "To forget class struggle is to lean to capital and the bourgeoisie and to oppose the workers." (Preface to the Publication of "Deception of the People With Slogans of Freedom and Equality," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXIX, p. 342) Teng Hsiao-p'ing's intent is to tempt people into forgetting class struggle, so they will lean to him -- an unrepentant capitalist roader, and so he may push without restraint whatsoever his revisionist line and turn his hope for restoration into an action for restoration. From this we can see clearly that the Party capitalist roaders, in trumpeting the theory of the dying out of class struggle and trying to erase the great cultural revolution from people's memory, want nothing less than to benumb the fighting will of the proletariat and cover up the bourgeois attack on the proletariat. While shouting "forget them all," Teng Hsiao-p'ing on the other hand incited the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and counter-revolutionaries to launch ruthless attacks on the proletariat, and he himself directed the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square in the capital. Shouldn't this put us seriously on guard?

Bent on settling account with the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged: "Once the movement comes, it often harms the old workers and experienced cadres." This is counter-revolutionary provocation with an ulterior motive. Our Party's successive political movements, including the great proletarian cultural revolution, have all been struggles between the two classes and two lines. As such, they were bound to criticize some people and topple others. The question is what kind of people are criticized or toppled. In the Party's history, we in the past criticized the chieftains of the opportunist line representing the bourgeois interests such as Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Kao Kang and P'eng Te-huai, and, in the cultural revolution, we have criticized the biggest capitalist roaders in the Party, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. In this sense, "harming" means upholding the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, for without it revolution could not have possibly succeeded and the people would have suffered. As for those cadres who have erred, including those who have erred seriously, Chairman Mao has always applied the policy "to learn from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones, cure the sickness in order to save the patient." This is aimed at caring for and saving the cadres, instead of "harming" them. In fact, it is precisely those biggest capitalist roaders in the Party, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who have done the greatest harm to the vast numbers of cadres and masses because they consistently "attack the many and protect a few" and exercise bourgeois, fascist dictatorship.

Doing his best to protect those Party capitalist roaders who were criticized by the masses during the cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing said nonsensically: "To make some mistakes characteristic of the

capitalist roaders isn't a question of principle." This means that he deliberately intended to distort the nature of the great cultural revolution and to absolve the Party capitalist roaders of their crimes. The main target of the great cultural revolution is to "purge those persons in power taking the capitalist road in the Party." Our contradiction with the Party capitalist roaders is one involving what direction to take, what line to follow and what road to keep to. Assumption of power by the capitalist roaders is assumption of power by the bourgeoisie; domination by the capitalist roaders means restoration of capitalism. How can one say this "isn't a question of principle"? In reality, Teng Hsiao-p'ing himself is the biggest capitalist roader within the Party, and to defend the capitalist roaders is actually to defend himself. "He can't be trusted when he says 'never reverse the verdict'." In defending the capitalist roaders, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has yet another sinister motive, that is, to carry through his organizational line of "appointing people from obscurity," to amass and give key posts to unrepentant capitalist roaders, to rig up a "home-coming contingent," so he may usurp Party and state power when the time comes. Exposing the real meaning of "isn't a question of principle" clearly shows that this is actually a paramount question of principle: let the capitalist roaders subvert proletarian dictatorship and restore captialism.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, doing his best to negate the great accomplishments of the cultural revolution, energetically clamored for "all-round rectification." He felt that what the cultural revolution had done was "excessive in righting the wrong" and that "excesses aren't right and need be rectified." Holding the banner "all-round rectification," he, on the one hand, went all out to attack the new-born forces of the revolution and new socialist things and to smear the excellent situation of the country since the cultural revolution. On the other hand, he went all out to restore the old rules and regulations and old order, strengthen and expand bourgeois rights, and rejuvenate those things which had been discredited during the cultural revolution. This exposes Teng Hsiao-p'ing's so-called "rectification" as nothing more than allowing the bourgeoisie to rectify the proletariat, reverse verdicts and restore capitalism. Wielding the axe of "rectification," he intended to chop down the great cultural revolution to make way for the creation of a dark capitalist world. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to reverse verdicts on the cultural revolution has naturally met with strong opposition from the people of the entire country. Aroused and led by Chairman Mao himself, both revolutionary cadres and masses positively plunged into the great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has been utterly isolated, and his conspiracy of verdict reversal and restoration is doomed to complete failure.

The ten years of the great cultural revolution have been a decade of tremendous victories won through painstaking struggles. In reviewing our combat records, we are full of revolutionary pride. However, as Chairman Mao clearly pointed out on the occasion of the first anniversary of the great cultural revolution, "The current cultural revolution is

merely the first, for there will be many more to come. It takes a fairly long historical period to determine who is the winner and who the loser in the revolution. If the situation is not handled properly, restoration of capitalism may occur any time. Let all Party members and the people of the whole country not assume that peace will prevail after one or two or even three or four cultural revolutions. We must never lose our vigilance." There was Lin Piao after Liu Shao-ch'i, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing after Lin Piao. This fact amply shows that our struggle against the Party bourgeoisie will be a protracted one. "The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road," and this is determined by the objective laws of class struggle in the period of socialism. As long as "capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road," such a large-scale, popular class struggle as the great cultural revolution will develop again and again and be sustained. We must not, because the cultural revolution has scored great victories, believe in any double talk about the dying out of class struggle in any form. Nor must we dream of a storm shelter from class struggle because we will still face a prolonged class struggle. Class struggle is the motive power of historical development. "Without struggle, there will be no progress." Every true revolutionary should undergo the tough and tempestuous test of class struggle, continuously temper his will of continuing the revolution, enrich his experience of struggle against the bourgeoisie and, through class struggle, push socialist revolution and construction ahead.

Ten years have elapsed since the proletarian cultural revolution was started. "Revolution is a grand festival of the oppressed and exploited." (Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, p. 601) The great proletarian cultural revolution is also a grand festival for the proletariat and the masses of working people in our country. "The best way to celebrate the anniversary of a great revolution is to concentrate on the unfinished tasks of the revolution." (Lenin, "On the Function of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 574) Our future is bright, but the road is tortuous. We must raise high the glorious banner of the great proletarian cultural revolution, persevere in upholding class struggle as the key link, deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and firmly strike at counter-revolutionary sabotage activities. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we must secure bigger victories in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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